3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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The first appearance of day is the time of rising: they then get up, wrap their *gnatoos* round them, and go out to bathe either in the sea or in a pond; or, if neither is at hand, they have water poured over them out of cocoa-nut shells: they are very particular in cleaning their mouths, and frequently rub their teeth either with cocoa-nut husk or charcoal: they dry themselves with a piece of *gnatoo*, wrap their dress loosely round them, return to their houses, and oil themselves all over, generally with cocoa-nut oil scented with the aroma of flowers; great chiefs frequently use the same oil scented with sandal wood. When bathing, they either wear an apron of *gnatoo*, or of the leaves of the *chi* tree. When they have bathed and oiled themselves, they put on their dress with all possible neatness: that of the men consists but of one piece of *gnatoo*, measuring about eight feet by five or six; this is folded round the body in a very neat manner: there are two or three modes, but the one which is considered the most elegant, and therefore the most usual among chiefs, is represented in the frontispiece: that part which circles round the waist is readily loosened, and brought over the head and shoulders, in case it should be necessary to go out at night. There is a band which goes round the body just above the hips, made also of *gnatoo*, but which is, for the most part,

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concealed by the folds that go round the waist. There is some little difference in the way in which females adjust their *gnatoos*, but the chief distinction of their dress is a small mat *, which they wear round the middle, and is about a foot in breadth. Pregnant women, and old women, wear their dress in front so as to cover the breasts. Children are not encumbered with dress when at home till they are about two years old: when they go out, they have a piece of *gnatoo* wrapped round them.

Having bathed, oiled, and dressed themselves, the chiefs hold cava parties, at which women seldom attend, for as they are no great cava drinkers, they generally form a circle of their own, and eat a meal; they take cava, however, at the same time, in a small quantity; whilst the men, on the contrary, take a large quantity of cava, and most of them very little food, as they generally eat a hearty meal about the middle of the day. The morning cava party usually lasts from two to five hours, according to the pleasure of the chiefs. After cava, the old men generally retire to their houses to sleep, or to amuse themselves with farther conversation. The younger ones follow the example or wishes of their superior chiefs, and make an excursion

* It would be considered highly indecorous and contrary to the tăboo for females to appear without this mat.

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with them to some distant part of the island; and whilst an entertainment is preparing for them at the plantation of some friend or relation, they amuse themselves at some game, or, perhaps, in inspecting the building of a canoe, or a large house, or examining the state of the plantations; or in sailing about, if near the sea, or in fishing; or in practising dancing and singing. In these excursions the unmarried women generally accompany them. The married women, and those who choose to stay at the *mooa*, in the mean time employ themselves in one or other of the occupations suitable to their sex, or, if their husbands make an excursion to another island, they usually take a trip with them. The very young girls are generally employed in the early part of the day in making wreaths of flowers, which they have been out to gather in the morning before sun rise, while the dew was yet on them; for, being plucked at that time, they remain longer fresh.

Sometimes they amuse themselves with walking near Licoo * where there are many romantic spots; at Vavaoo for instance they often visit the cave of Tootawi and the beach of Mo-

* Licoo is the name given to the back or unfrequented part of any island, which is generally bold and rocky, and not fitted for the entrance of canoes. Some parts of the Licoo at Vavaoo were particularly romantic.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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his possessions, and in the most earnest manner entreated him to accept of something. Being thus strongly pressed, the moderate Tootáwi chose a wearing-mat of the kind called *giē fow* *, and this was the only article that the eloquence and kindness of Finow could persuade him to accept of. The king left him with sentiments of admiration, and shortly after confirmed the orders that had been formerly given to prevent any body molesting him.

Thus lived Tootáwi for some three or four years afterwards; but one day he was found lying on the ground, stretched out dead within his cave.

But to return to our subject; about mid-day it is usual to have another meal, when the chiefs receive a number of presents, of different kinds of provisions, from their dependents or friends, which the matabooles share out. In the afternoon some again join in conversation, others go out shooting rats, &c. In the evening they have dancing and singing, which is often continued till very late at night, on which occasion they burn torches, each being held by a man, who, after a time, is relieved by another. These dances are generally kept up for about four hours after dark. When no dances are

* A certain kind of wearing-mat used chiefly in canoes, as it is not liable to be injured by sea-water. See p. 280.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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proposed, they retire to rest at sun-set, after bathing and oiling themselves, and even on these occasions the houses are lighted up with torches, during two, three, or four hours after dark: these torches are held by female domestics. It cannot be strictly said that they have any fixed times for meals, though it generally happens to be in the morning, about noon, and again in the evening; but it depends greatly upon how the chiefs are occupied, or what presents have been made to them: it frequently occurs that several presents come at the same time from different quarters; then they have a feast: but whatever they have, whether much or little, it is always shared out to all present, each having a portion according to his rank: strangers and females generally obtain somewhat more than is due to their rank. Those who get more than they want never fail to supply others who have not enough: selfishness is a very rare quality among them: if a man has a piece of yam, though it be not enough for a meal, he will readily give half away to any one who may want it; and if any body else comes afterwards in like need, with the greatest good nature he will give half the remainder; scarcely saving himself any, though he may be very hungry.

If during the day a chief, mataboole, or mooa, but particularly a chief, finds himself fa-

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
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round the districts, in a time of scarcity, and order the people to dress a certain quantity of provisions for him by a limited time; with which he lays up a store for himself, and his wives and household; and leaves others to get what they can.

They often drink the Kava from break of day to eleven or twelve o'clock at noon, till their attendants are completely tired of waiting on them. They then go and lie down, and sleep for two or three hours; when they rise, they bathe, walk among the plantations, or amuse themselves in wrestling, boxing, or any other way that pleases their fancy; but particularly in bathing, playing in the water, and shooting of arrows. Bathing is a very favourite amusement, in which they generally indulge two or three times a day. Both sexes often play together in the water at the following diversion: they fix two posts, about a hundred yards distant from each other, in a depth of water about four feet, near the shore, and midway betwixt them is placed a large stone. Then dividing into two companies, the game is, which side can first tug the stone to their own post. In playing at this diversion with them, I have seen numbers at the bottom of the water together, hauling and pulling the stone different ways, with all the eagerness that contending parties, in the northern counties of England, exert themselves to drive the shinney to its goal. When a diver returned to the surface, for breath, another of his party instantly

12: Vason M-3 (1797-1801) 1810
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people resort for this purpose. They are frequently kept up till midnight, when performed in a chief's house, and sometimes till morning, by an interchange of performers, who alternately retire to rest, and rise again to dance. 175 595

So fond are they of this amusement that they dance almost on all occasions. However extravagantly they have mourned for the dead, they generally terminate their grief with this ceremony of joy: in which I have seen the women so eager that they have forgotten all sense of decorum and thrown off all incumbrance of dress for greater freedom and diversion. [165] [292]

This is the general mode of life at Tongataboo. They never rise, but the Kava is prepared, and distributed in the exact order I have described; and immediately the tackhangers call for the cooks in the Badoo, or Kitchen, who bring the baked yams, and present them to the guests. If there is no serious business for the chiefs, indolent slumbers, or the amusements of conversation and choice, fill up the middle part of the day, which is however sometimes diversified with boxing, or other athletic exercises; and luxurious festivities close the evening. 175 512

Such an indulgent life, however, is only in the power of the chiefs. The lower classes, as will be farther shown, are obliged to labour, not only for themselves, but for their superiors; and, after all, 175 565 [512]

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This pattern of division is not a hard and fast one in all its aspects. For some of the activities the division is fixed. Thus one would certainly not expect any Pangai woman to function as an undertaker or as a church-pastor. It would also be rare for a woman to work on the building of a house frame or assist in the making of a canoe. Similarly no man would attempt to plait mats or make bark cloth. He would make *kava* only if it was impossible to find an available girl or woman when he and his friends were craving for *kava* to drink. The pattern is most flexible in regard to agriculture and cooking. Women are primarily the cooks in Pangai. But men spending all day in their plantations will often pause to make an oven and bake food for themselves, particularly if other men are present and helping them. On feast-occasions also, men and women work together with food preparation. Similarly, cultivation is mainly left to the men. Women help whenever their help is needed. Sometimes they may even do all the cultivation for the household should it be necessary. Thus Fakataha's husband was suffering from a long bout of filarial fever which kept him in his house. His children were all young. Fakataha spent day after day in the plantation doing all the rough work of clearing land, planting, and hoeing. She was sometimes assisted by her two eldest sons. Villagers admired the way she worked although they thought her unfortunate. On the other hand, Biukala, somewhat sophisticated with European ideals, was proud of the fact that his wife occupied herself entirely with domestic work and rarely left the house-lot. He felt that many village women showed interest in men's activities merely as an excuse for gadding about the bush or the village when they would be much better and more safely employed with domestic tasks.

Daily Routine

For fourteen days during the month of January, nineteen Pangai men and two Pangai women kept a daily record of their chief activities. From this consecutive record it is possible to get a rough idea of how the villager fills his day with work and play (or better, with work and non-working activities—the concept of play is not one that the villager could easily master).

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512 could easily master). From these records the accompanying tables have been abstracted showing a seven-day routine for a man and a woman and a one-day routine for ten men. The routine for one man is given first in the following table:

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TABLE 2.—DAILY ROUTINE FOR ONE MAN

DAY	MORNING	AFTERNOON	EVENING
Monday	Hoed garden all morning.	Boiled and ate food in bush. Slept in bush. Returned with food.	Ate. Drank *kava*.
Tuesday	Fed animals. Planted *kape*. Gathered firewood. Hoed garden.	Ate food. Worked for friend planting *taro* all afternoon.	Bathed. Ate. Slept.
Wednesday	To bush for coconuts, food. Prepared oven. Drank *kava*. Ate.	Hoed in garden.	Bathed. Ate. Slept.
Thursday	Boiled food, ate. Talked with friends.	Hoed gardens.	Bathed. Visited, Drank *kava*.
Friday	Fished. Ate. Drank *kava*. Prepared church lesson.	Hoed garden. Went to church.	Visited. Slept.
Saturday	Boiled food. Bush for firewood, food. Ate.	Slept. Worked in garden.	Bathed. Ate. Drank *kava*.
Sunday	Church. Prepared food. Cleaned *kava* roots. Church. Ate.	Drank *kava*. Church Slept.	Church. Ate. Visited. Slept.

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The degree of uniformity in the work of ten different men on one day is shown by Table 3 below:

TABLE 3.—WORK FOR ONE DAY

NAME	MORNING		AFTERNOON		EVENING
	EARLY	LATE	EARLY	LATE	
Biukala	*Fono* meeting. Worked in bush. Ate boiled food.	Read. Slept until noon.	Hoed garden.	Church.	Visited. Ate. Played *lafo.*[9] Slept.
Tui	Fed chickens, pigs. Fetched food from bush. Went to Neiafu.	Bagged copra	Bagged copra.	Hoed garden.	Bathed. Ate. Slept.
Betelo	*Fono* meeting. Drank *kava* all morning.		Bush for food.	Cooked food.	Slept.
Lole	Ate cold food. Hoed garden.		Returned from bush.	Drank *kava.*	*Kava* party till 3 a.m.
Benny K.	Bush for food. *Kava* for visitor. Ate.	Prepared church-lesson.	Read Bible.	Church.	Played *lafo.* Ate. Slept.
Tevita	Bush for food. *Kava* for visitors. Prepared feast.		*Kava* all afternoon.	Ate feast.	Slept.
Potemani	Bush for food. Boiled, ate food.	Planted pineapples for friend.	Hoed garden.	Slept in bush.	Visited. Slept.
Beni F.	*Fono* meeting. Hoed garden.	Prepared bush oven.	Ate in bush.	Visiting. Church.	Drank *kava.*
Moala	*Fono* meeting. Cooked food. Slept.	Ate food.	Drank *kava.*	Church.	Drank *kava.*
Tuipulotu	Boiled food.	Hoed garden.	Slept.	Planted *taro.*	Visited. Ate. Slept.

[9] The game of *lafo* is played by tossing coconut shell discs from one end of a mat to the other. Sets of discs for this game are hard to find in the village; there are two sets only among all the householders. They are in consequence highly valued and cherished. The game is infrequently played but greatly enjoyed when played. Formerly, the game was played only by chiefs, and commoners "caught playing this game . . . would be punished, perhaps even with death," according to Gifford (*Tongan Society*, p. 117). The fact that the game is played at all today by commoners is a good measure of some of the internal changes that have been going on within Tongan culture. The only reason why the game is not more frequently played seems to be group inertia. The coconut discs could be easily made if the desire to play were present.

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The daily activities of one woman are shown in the next table:

TABLE 4.—DAILY ROUTINE FOR ONE WOMAN

DAY	MORNING		AFTERNOON		EVENING
	EARLY	LATE	EARLY	LATE	
Monday	Boiled food. Prepared materials for mat-making.		Plaited a mat till dark.		Slept. Visited. Slept. Ate.
Tuesday	Boiled food. To bush for *papaia*.	Prepared oven.	Washed clothes. Ate.	Plaited.	Made *kava*. Slept.
Wednesday	Planted bananas, *taro*.	Collected copra nuts.	Boiled food. Ate. Washed clothes.		Made *kava*. Slept.
Thursday	Ironed clothes. Boiled food.	Rested.	Hoed yams for sick husband.		Rested. Visited. Slept.
Friday	Boiled food. Made oven.	Made *kava*. Washed clothes.	Hoed yams, *taro*.	Cooked.	Cleaned house. Slept.
Saturday	Reef fishing all morning.		Sewed dress.	Boiled food.	Made *kava*. Slept.
Sunday	Prepared oven. Church.	Ate. Rested.	Church. Ate.	Visiting.	Church. Visiting.

These routines are really routines. Most of the men spend both morning and afternoon working in their bush-gardens. There are exceptions to this when visitors arrive, when it is necessary to prepare church-lessons (in the case of a lay-preacher), when one has been up late the night before drinking *kava* so that a morning sleep is imperative, or when one may work in Neiafu, or finally, when one's garden work is sufficiently advanced that one may use afternoon time for *kavc* drinking. The men spend their evenings sleeping or visiting or drinking *kava*. This routine is kept up from day to day, broken only by an occasional visit to another village, by a feast or a holiday season such as Christmas. Sometimes, as in the particular week abstracted in Table 3, A one day may be started with a meeting *(fono)* of the men A called by the village-overseer.* This meeting considered the state of the gardens after a few days of heavy rain and wind had played havoc with the banana-trees. Plans were made at this time for the replanting of banana-trees.

The work of the woman is equally of a routine nature: mat-making, preparing food, washing clothes, reef-fishing, sewing, house-cleaning, *kava*-making for the men of the household and their male visitors, and occasional days in the gardens cultivating and planting if the husband is sick. The particular woman whose week is abstracted in Table 4 B A had no infants or young children in her household. Had there been infants she would have kept closer to the village caring for her young children.

For both men and women, Sunday is a day of rest, sleep, and church-going. The men generally spend resting hours either sleeping or drinking *kava*. For the children, Sundays are hard to bear. They are not supposed to play but to rest quietly and act decorously. By evening there is so much pent-up energy among the children that they are past the wit or discipline of any adult to control.

* The Tongan *fono* council is not so much a council in the sense of a deliberative body. Rather is it a group of men assembled to hear the orders or suggestions or plans of such superiors as chief, noble, government representative. In Pangai the village overseer uses the *fono* to advise the village men of his suggestions and orders or of the orders of the government representatives in Neiafu.

A, B, A A [See category 116, pp. 23-24--Analyst]

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512 The routine as given is for days during the month of January. It is not to be supposed however, that this routine varies greatly for different times of the year. There are no [132] marked seasonal changes in the Tongan climate except the change from a dry to a wet season. This change does not [241] affect the growth of plants to any degree. Hence the villager is cultivating for most of the year, and when he is not 512 cultivating, he is planting. Annual festivities such as 527 Christmas and New Year celebrations, missionary-conferences and the like mean a certain crescendo of economic activity because feasting and resting and then more feasting are approved Tongan methods of celebration. This kind of holiday-making can only be prepared for by extensive and increased pre-holiday working activity. Otherwise, as has been stressed, the daily routine is, by and large, the yearly routine.

512 So far we have been considering the daily routine of the villager in terms of the classified statements of a table. In 128 order to give some indication of what this daily routine means in the life of the villager, the following notes are taken from field-notebooks. They serve to show the contrasts between day by day work on the one hand and the activities centred round special celebrations on the other.

512 This is the way life runs in the village today: Bovai is holding a working-party to clear the weeds from his pine-461 apple plantation. Many men are busy there today—his 476 friends from the Catholic church and his male relatives. They finish work in the early afternoon and then come back [574] to Bovai's house where he has ready for them a large oven-baked feast. Bovai finds this a good way to get large amounts of work done. The men enjoy this kind of work for a change. It is much more sociable, friendly, and satisfying than sweating away alone in the bush with only the persistent mosquitoes for company.

512 Hausia is taking no part in this working party. He is working with the men of his own household on his own 461 plantation. The men take time off during the day to make 592 for themselves an elaborate feast in the bush. One of the boys comes back to the village bringing with him a few baked [574] *taro*-corms and some pieces of baked *manioke*. This snack [262] is for Hausia's wife and the girls of the household who are

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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spending the day plaiting mats. They will sit down to their main meal of the day some time during the evening when Hausia returns from the bush carefully carrying the women's portion of the food baked during the day and set aside before the men began to eat their bush feast.

Avai's household has not been working in the bush. The men are busy roasting a large pig which will occupy the position of honour in a gift they are preparing to carry to the village of Makave, some three hours distant. Avai's mother's brother's wife died in Makave last November (three months ago). It is now time for Avai's mother to remember this event by the gift to the deceased's family of a large pig, an equally large root of green *kava* and a quantity of bark cloth. The party set off for Makave about noon; Avai with the *kava*-root and his sister on one horse, a friend Tevita with the roast pig on a second, and Sesoni (cross-cousin to Avai's mother) with the bark cloth on the third horse. The walking party was made up of Avai's mother, her husband and her daughter, the local pastor of the Church of Tonga (the family church) and the pastor's son. When the party arrives on the outskirts of Makave, the pig will be slung on a stout pole and carried thus on the shoulders of two of the men to the honoured house. The party is all dressed in best Sunday clothes. The pig is large and juicily fat. It will make a brave show as the men stagger with it through the village, going the longest and most roundabout way until the procession comes at last to rest before the bereaved household. This is as it should be. For why, says the villager, trouble to implement social and economic obligations if all do not know, talk about, and appreciate your generosity?

Biukala and Beni Kautai and their two households, about twenty men, women and children, have had a holiday today. They went for a " picnic " to a distant beach, a feast really, to honour relatives visiting from a distant village. They went with the early morning tide in a borrowed, flat-bottomed copra-boat, and returned late this evening when the tide was high again. We hear the laughing, shouting party as it returns across the lagoon and then as it straggles in a long line up the hill from the beach, children and adults excitedly talking among themselves. A little while later when we walk past Biukala's house all is silent. Young and

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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512 592 529 461 old alike have simply flopped down on the soft matted floor and fallen soundly asleep.

Swift twilight, then darkness, closes round the village. The women potter round the houses attending to a few 512 517 evening tasks before they follow the children to sleep. The men bathe and dress in cool, clean shirts and *vala*. Then they sit out of doors talking to friends or else, led by the rhythmic beating of stone on stone as *kava* is crushed, they find their way to a nearby house where a *kava*-circle is being formed. The night drifts by as they drink and talk, talk and drink. And the stars are already low in the sky when the circle breaks up. The men quietly make their way home. A baby stirs in a nightmare sleep or a dog barks excitedly at passing shadows. But, for a short time at least, the village is at rest waiting in suspense for another day to bring its hot sun and its round of common tasks.

512 461 529 The tempo of village activity is speeded up before the week of Christmas and New Year. Two days before Christmas we made the following notes:

[533] There is a slowly-developing crescendo of excitement in the village as Christmas Day approaches. Every night for the past week the youths and maidens of the village have been practising until past midnight the songs that they are newly composing to sing about the village on Christmas Day. Those more talented who also possess some musical instrument are equally busy in tearing to shreds the quietness of a village evening. They have grouped themselves together in what is politely

[534] called a "string band." The noise that comes down wind suggests that this "band" consists of a number of reedy mouth organs, a lone guitar, and a violin with two of its three strings missing.

[412] For all the people the working-day starts very early. This morning at four a.m. for instance, the woman in the house nearest us was busy cutting the long grass about her house with the huge three-foot bush-knife that serves the villager for all purposes from a lawn-mower to nail cutter or razor. All four of her children, the oldest under six, frolicked joyfully about her, pursued by her anguished screams as they forgetfully frisked within danger distance of the swift-cutting knife.

[356] Equally industrious, the men have been going to their bush plantations at dawn and returning just before dusk with heavy loads of food. The women have put in long days washing clothes, cutting grass and sweeping up all the rubbish of months from their house sections. Everything must be neat and tidy for Christmas week.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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laying it endways to the door so that its entire length could be seen from within, retired. Then Fatafehi and I came forward. As soon as the king saw us he rose from his seat to fetch a chair for me from several that were set round the table in readiness for the Council. He was dressed in European clothes of rusty black cloth, and appeared to have been waiting for us for some time. The house was divided into three by reed partitions, and very meanly furnished: a green iron bedstead in the inner room covered with mats was the only bedroom furniture, and besides the table and office chairs in the middle room, there was only a shelf of the commonest crockery. The outer room was occupied by his servants, who, I believe, were prisoners. It was characteristic of the king that while he had a well-found house in Nukualofa, he lived from choice on the barest necessaries, and spent a large portion of his income on building churches.

King George Tubou.

After we had shaken hands, Fatafehi announced in a stentorian voice that I had brought a little sandal-wood

Malae is thus divided by the several kin groups but without an actual fence of demarcation. The people buried in a section of *malae* roughly coincide with those who belong to the same *famili* organisation, but not always. There are mainly three reasons for this discordance. Firstly, it is not allowed to dig a grave in the same spot for about five years after the last burial, which means that one who dies within the five years may be buried with members of another family. Secondly, belonging to a section in the *malae* seems, in the main, to be patrilineally decided; a wife may belong to her husband's place, children except married daughters to their parents' place. But the dead may, under some circumstances, be buried in a section on the basis of their relationship with mother or wife. In the section of 30 at *tua fale kakau* 30's father as well as his unmarried daughter and 4's son were buried in these years. 30's father was born in Mu'a and came to this village to marry. When he died, he was buried at the corner of the Pualiki's section, probably because Pualiki's sister was his wife. Since then, the section of 30 seems to have acquired its position separately from the main section. Thirdly, a local bond is also recognised in deciding the section in which one shall be buried. For if a person from another village happens to die while staying here with some family, he will be buried in the section to which the family with whom he was staying belonged. A woman married out of the village died while she was back at her native home. She was buried beside her parents' grave.

Church Affiliation

All Tongans are Christian. We can not understand fully the village life without Christianity. There are a number of religious observances, for example, attendance at church service several times a week, strict keeping of the Sabbath, prayers before each meal and before going to bed, which are integral parts of daily life for the villagers .

The Free Wesleyan Church, the largest in the Kingdom, holds a large majority of the village members. After this sect come the Free Church of Tonga, the Roman Catholic Church and a few Mormons in this order. There are three churches in this village. The Free Wesleyan Church and the Free Church of Tonga have professional stewards who stay here during the term of their service. The steward of the Catholic Church is a villager. The Mormons go to church in the next village. The following table shows the church affiliation of the *famili* organisation.

The basic principle in church affiliation is that a wife should follow her husband, and the children should follow their father, which indicates a patrilineal principle at work. But this is not always the case, as is shown in the table. In one case the elder brother (11) is Catholic while the younger brother (15) is Mormon. They may change their affiliation, for example in accord with the school-religion in which they were educated, or sometimes of their own free will.[12] 32 gives an example. He was a member of the Free Church of Tonga until 1956, but some unpleasant matter in the church made him and all the members of his nuclear family change their membership to the Free Wesleyan Church to

12. Beaglehole 1941: 128-129.

of an 'api is further enlivened by the children and young people, who spend much of the time outside during the day. 351

Besides a lively appearance, there is generally a lively (although not noisy) daytime sound in the village. In the mornings, while children are at school, one hears the rhythmic tones of wood striking wood as women beat the bark of the paper mulberry, making tapa cloth. And in the afternoons there are shouts of excitement as the young people play basketball. In the late afternoon, the sound of unaccompanied singing can be heard from one or other of the churches. But after about nine in the evening, most people are indoors, at home or visiting neighbors, and village sounds are muted. 512 [287] [526] [533] [794] [574]

The boundaries of a number of 'api are marked by a fence, whose main purpose is not to serve as a boundary marker but to keep own livestock in and other livestock out. Fences, therefore, are intended to be sturdy and are made of wooden palings or of chicken wire. Some of those close to the main road, which serve decorative as well as protective purposes, are ornamented by shrubbery. Houses along the main road have a preferred position, providing ease of access, the opportunity for display, and convenience in monitoring the comings and goings of others. Houses further back are reached by narrow trails along which one must pick one's way with care, or by wider unpaved paths that soon become muddy bogs when it rains. 351 417 351 361 [554] [487]

many of these remarks are caused by resentment at the success of the Mormon Church in gaining new adherents. Moreover, while there is some ill-feeling towards the Mormon Church as an institution, there is no condemnation of particular individuals merely because they belong to the Mormon Church. People are far more critical of those who show little involvement at all in the activities of any congregation than they are of any persons for being adherents of a particular denomination.

Church Membership and Status-striving Activities

It is a religious duty to participate in congregational and denominational activities, with damnation in the afterlife and public disapproval on earth as sanctions for attendance. Besides this, however, congregational activities are important social events, providing an arena within which individuals engage in status-striving activities.

The majority of village women, of all denominations, spend most of their free time among kin, either at their own homes or visiting at the homes of close kinswomen. When a woman organizes a work party, for example, women of the local kin group with which she is affiliated will form the basis of the work party. Similarly, young men

membership and may extend beyond the boundaries of the village. No local-level entity has the authority to co-ordinate the activities of these groups, to convene a village council of any sort, or to organize any other village-wide activity. In summary, the village neither functions as a political group nor is there any other group whose membership co-incides with all the inhabitants of the village. For these reasons, it is doubtful whether the Tongan village is to be regarded as a local group. Even for the isolated village-islands of Ha'apai, the only village-wide activity reported in response to my enquiries was that in some villages there is an occasional joint fish-catching expedition.[4]

In Motulahi, the closest approximation to village-wide action during the period of my fieldwork was the observance of a period of mourning when there was a death in the village.[5] For a few days after each death, no movies were shown and there was a stillness throughout the village. Usually, during the day, one hears the rhythmic note of wood striking wood as women pound bark into tapa-cloth, but this is put aside for the few days that the mourning is observed.

4 The Beagleholes give a description of joint fishing operations (1941: 36-37).

5 There were five deaths in the village during the period of my fieldwork: an old man, a boy, and three infants.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

312 first were mostly in land and the latter by the shore of the Lagoon and for the most part below high water mark, so that to have the water tolerable it must be taken up at low water.

648 When we returned from our walk, which was not till the dusk of the evening, our supper was ready, it consisted of a baked hog some 262 fish and yams all excellent well cooked after their own method. As 513 there was nothing to amuse us after supper we followed the Custom of the Country and laid down to Sleep, our beds was a large piece of Cloth spread on the floor. The King slept in the same house as well 521 as several others. Long before day break they rose and sat chating by Moon light till it was day light; the conversation, as might well be expected, turned wholy on us, the King entertaining the Company Frid. 27 with an account of what he had seen. As soon as it was light they all 512 went away, some one way and some a nother, but it was not long before they returned and with them several more. They now began 648 to make a bowl of Cava at which I left them to pay a Visit to Too- 276 bough Captain Furneaux's friend, who had a house hard by, which for size and neatness was exceeded by few in the place. As I had left the others so I found here, a company preparing a Morning draught. [431] This Chief made me a present of a living hog, a baked one, a quantity of yams and a large piece of Cloth.

276 When I returned to the King I found the company drinking the second bowl of Cava. When it was out the King told Omai he was 765 going to perform a Mourning ceremony for a Son which had been 643 dead some time and desired we would acompany him. We were glad of the oppertunity expecting to see some thing new or Curious. [292] The first thing the Chief did was to step out of the house, attended by two Women, and put on a new sute of Cloathes, or piece of Cloth, and over it an old ragged mat that might have served his great grand Father on some such like occasion: his Servants or those who attended him were all dressed in the same manner, excepting none of [824] them having quite so ragged a Mat round them as their master.[1] Thus equiped we marched off preceded by about eight or ten persons all dressed in the same manner and with each a small green branch about his neck. The King held his in his hand till we drew near the place of rendezvouse when he tied it about his neck also. Thus we entered a small inclosure, in which was a small neat house and one [824] man seting before it. As they entered they pulled off the green branch from round their necks and threw them away. After the King was seated the others seated them selves in the usual way before him;

[1] This was the *ta'ovala*, still worn as a sort of sash-apron; the raggedness was not for normal wear, but a sign of mourning.

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

night.[1] One would at first think this would produce the Contrary effect to what is intended but it is not so, for it creates a very agreeable and pleasing sensation. Omai and I now went to visit the Prince who parted from us early in the evening, for he did not lodge with the King but in apartments of his own, or such as had been alloted him some distance from his Fathers; we found him with a Circle of Boys or youths like himself before him, and an old Woman and an old man who seemed to have the care of him siting behind; there were others both men and Women who seemed to make a part of his household, that were employed about their necessary affairs in different apartments. From the Prince we returned to the King, by this time he was up and had a crowded Circle before him, composed chiefly of old men; while a large bowl of Cava was preparing a Baked hog and yams Smoaking hot was brought in, the greatest part of which fell to our share, that is to the boats crew, for these people eat very little in a Morning and especially the Cava drinkers. I afterward walked out and visited several other Chiefs and found that all of them either were or had been taking their morning draughts. Returning to the King I found him a Sleep in a small retired hut with two Women taping his[2] breech. About 11 oclock he got up, some fish and yam, which tasted as it had been stewed in Cocoanut milk, was brought him of which he eat a large portion and then laid down to sleep again, when I left him to visit the Prince and to make him a present of Cloth, Beads &c[a] I had brought with me for the purpose; there was sufficient to make him a compleat suit of Clothing, in which he was immediately dress'd. He first went and shewed himself to his Father, and then carried me to his Mother, with whom was ten or a dozen other respectable looking Women. Here the Prince changed his apparel and made me a present of two peices of their Cloth. By this time it was pass'd Noon, when every one of us according to appointment repaired to the Palace to dine and presently after dinner was served up consisting of two Pigs and yams, I rouse'd the King up to pertake of what he had provided for us. In the mean time two Mullet and some shell fish was brought him as I supposed for his dinner; he joined it to ours, sat down with us and made a hearty meal.

Soon after dinner was over, we were told that the ceremony would

[1] This was the sort of massage called *tukituki* (*tuki*, to strike). It served to relieve pain, lassitude, and fatigue, says Mariner, to 'give very great ease, producing a soothing effect upon the system, and lulling to sleep'.—II, p. 233. There was a variant: 'Sometimes, when a man is much fatigued, he will lie on the ground whilst three or four little children trample upon him all over; and the relief given by this operation is very great'.—ibid.

[2] *his:* MS *in.*

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

and one of the Daughters lives at Hammoah, or Vaughwaugh, Latouleboula the son and the other Daughter at Tongatabu; the latter is she who is mentioned to have dined with me on the 22nd of June. They were both frequently with us, but never appeared to be persons of consequence nor property. Latouleboula was looked upon by his country men as a Mad man, and many of his actions shewed they were not misstaken. At Middleburg I was shewed a good deal of land said to belong to him, and I saw there a son of his, a child, that they called by the same title as the father. The Son of the greatest Prince in Europe could not be more humoured and caressed than this little brat was.

Not only the King, but most of the great men have a kind of Levy every morning, but the chief purpose of these meetings is to drink Cava, or Kava, which one of the company treats the others with. It is generally, if not always prepared by the servants or toutous; the first cup is brought to the principal person, who for the most part orders it to be given to a nother, the second is then brought him, which he drinks. Then as the others are filled, the person who fills them asks who is to have it and the person who gives the treat names the person and so it continues till the bowl is emptied. It is served out by the servants, who sit down when they deliver the cup, unless it be a meeting of inferior chiefs, than this ceremony is not observed, but great order is always kept up.

Of the Religion of these people, I know little more than what has been occasionally mentioned. There principles and notions, nearly agree with the people of Otaheite; they acknowlidge the influance of superior beings, one of whom is supreme and the rest subordinate. The supreme being I have heard called by different names; the King called him Fattafee, and said that when he was angry he distroyed the produce of the land by giving them no rain, the fish of the sea and punishes them with death, but when he was pleased he gave them health, long life and every thing in plenty, and this seem'd to be all they either feared or expected.[1] I think I may venture to assert that

fahu to his children. The complications and proliferations were endless, but enough has been said to explain the anomaly of the sacred king doing homage to others who were not kings, but merely sacred. For Paulaho, both Moungalakepa his niece, and Latunipulu his nephew, were *fahu*. The niece, the female, indeed, was more *fahu* than the nephew: to Moungalakepa the king did obeisance, and in her presence could not eat; in Latunipulu's presence he could not eat, but did not do him obeisance.

[1] Tongan religion is a difficult subject indeed. There were many differences between Tongan and Tahitian notions; for instance, the generally important Polynesian gods Tane, Tu and Rongo did not appear on the Tongan scene. But Tangaroa or Tangaloa did, and it was he who fished up the Tongan islands out of the sea. He fathered the first Tu'i Tonga, Aho'eitu, by a Tongan woman called Ilaheva—and hence perhaps the semi-divine Paulaho's reference to him as Fatafehi. But the distinctive Tongan principal god, shared with Samoa but no other Polynesian island, was Hikuleo; he and the other gods or

55: Anderson D,T-5 (1777) 1967 0U9 Tonga 0U9

stiff kind of mat that stands by itself & forms a low partition, which is also us'd to hang around the part of the house open to the wind in bad weather. Women of consequence sometimes sit in their houses in the day surrounded or enclos'd with one of these mats, seemingly with no other intention than to indicate their superior rank. They seem to have no set time for meals (though it should be observ'd that during our stay amongst these people their domestic œconomy seems much disturb'd from their constant attention to us), for the better sort only drink Kava in the forenoon and the others eat perhaps a bit of Yam; but we have commonly seen them eat sometime in the afternoon, and it would appear that the practice of making a meal in the night is pretty common as their rest being disturbd in the night makes them frequently sleep in the day, although they go to bed as soon as dusk at night and get up at dawn in the morning. The greatest part of their Vegetable diet is Yams, Plantanes and Cocoa nuts: of their animal food the chief is hogs, fowls, fish, all sorts of shell fish, and the lower people eat rats. The two first articles with bread fruit are what may be call'd the basis of their food, which they have at different times of the year with fish and shell fish, for hogs, fowls & turtle seem only to be ate occasionally by the better people. The intervals between the season of these things must be sometimes considerable, as they prepare a sort of artificial bread from plantanes which they put under ground before ripe, and suffer them to remain till they ferment, when they are taken out & made up into small balls, but so sour & indifferent that they often said our bread was preferable though somewhat musty.[1] They also use great quantitys of the Nuts call'd E'eefee at these times, which is coarser and less agreeable than our Chesnuts.

The method of dressing these things is entirely in the kind of oven us'd to bake the hogs with, but they sometimes roast the Vegetables on an open fire, and though they have a few earthen globular pots they get them from Feejee and are never apply'd to that purpose. They are as yet almost strangers to the thousand destructive luxurys which cookery has invented, but nevertheless have a few artificial dishes, such as a soft pudding made of Talo and other roots with Cocoa nut scrap'd into it,[2] which gives an agreeable smoothness to every thing dress'd with it. There is also another very palatable sort in which is put aromatic leaves as seasoning, and they prepare a dish

[1] This, if accurately observed, is a variation on what Mariner, II, p. 200, calls 'Ma me; fermented breadfruit'. Churchward pleasantly defines *ma* as 'a kind of ensilage (but for human consumption)'; *mei* is breadfruit. Anderson in his own vocabulary explains 'Maa' as 'A sour plantain, by being put underground'.

[2] *po'oi*.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

answered, 'migee migee.'[1] This would not have been worth mentioning but that it shews in a striking light the great simplicity of their Manners, which must be an apology for its indelicacy, at least I have no other to offer except the strong propensity a man feels to tell his friends a piece of news that savours so much of the marvellous & ludicrous. Early the next morning we took our leave of Toobow who wanted us much to accept of some Cloth in return for the presents we had made him, but this we could not comply with. We had not gone far from the House before we met Phenow dressed in his best Habit with his Hair and Shoulders shining with oil; being somewhat surprized at seeing him thus so early in the Day, we asked him the reason of it & he told us he was going to wait upon Toobow to desire his assistance for one of his Wives who was sick—being set upon the Enquiry by this Circumstance I learned afterwards that Toobow is the Chief Physician of the Island & that he is highly respected and venerated by all Ranks of people on that Account, & it appears by his Rank that ye profession of Physic is excercised only by the Princes of the Country, like it was of old by the Chiefs & Kings among the grecians. A medical Person or Physician is called in their Language Fo-foa;[2] how far their Knowledge extends we had not an opportunity to learn.

Every Morning the Chiefs and their attendants drink Kava, the Juice of an intoxicating Pepper, the method of preparing and drinking it is as follows. The Chief sits crosslegged facing his attendants who sit in the same manner forming a half Circle with their faces towards him, a large wooden Bowl is placed in the middle, with some water at hand in a gourd, a quantity of the Kava root is brought in by a servant & every one except the Chief himself takes a bit of it & chews it; while they are performing this Operation, one man is employed in making small Cups of Plantain leaves, another in drawing a plant into Fibres with his Teeth, which they use like Tow for a strainer; these Things being got ready one of them went round for the Kava which every man delivered to him out of his Mouth ground into a mass full

[1] Mariner 'michi'; Anderson 'Meedje, meedje, [*misi-misi*], To drink out of a coconut', or, of children, to suck; but here it must mean sexual intercourse. Labillardière, *Account of a Voyage in search of La Pérouse* . . . (2nd ed., London, 1802), in his twelfth chapter gives amusing instances of its use thus, and his Vocabulary of the Friendly Islands (II, p. 398) has 'Mitzi mitzi, mitchi mitchi', for the act of coition.

[2] This word presents a little problem. It is difficult to say whether the initial letter is a badly-written F or a badly-written T. If it is F then there may be some connection with the now obsolescent *fuavai*, a dispenser of medicine. If it is T the alliance may be with *tufunga*, a word which in its various Polynesian forms and combinations carries all sorts of implications of skill or wisdom, though in Tongan it seems to have had the more restricted meaning of skilled workman or artificer as given by Mariner for his 'Toofoonga'. The more likely guess seems to be *fuavai*.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

They bathe themselves about Sunrising either in the small Pools or in the Sea. In the Morning Parties meet together who form a ring & sing to the beat of Drum & drink Kava after which they eat baked yams or breadfruit. They dine about noon generally upon baked yams & breadfruit with Puddings made of Plantains, & sometimes the better sort have Pork but more commonly Fish, drinking water with it which they seem to prefer in general to the Cocoa nut milk, not caring so much for that as the meat of the nut. The Chiefs are served at their meals with much Parade, a single yam being often brought on a pole between two men so that a dinner consisting of a dozen or two of yams, some parcels of baked Fish, Plantains, Cocoa nuts & shells of water & the plantain Leaves for a table Cloth will employ 30 or 40 people. Their method of Cooking differs in nothing material from that of Otaheite which has been amply described in Captn Cook's first Voyage to that Island. About sunset they play upon their Flutes, sing or sit in discourse with their Women before their Houses; after dark they light Torches in their Houses by which they sit and converse or meet together in large Companies of young men & women & dance upon the green plats before their Doors. The young women on these occasions make use of many lascivious Gestures & Motions, & so fond are they of this amusement that not a day passes but many of these dances are performed in all parts of the Country. While these are employed in following their Pleasures others line the shores with Torches in their Canoes as a decoy for the Fish, which they catch in that manner.

Every Chief has his Land inclosed with a hedge of Wicker work about 8 feet high made with Bamboo which has a very neat appearance. To this inclosure there is one entrance only, at a door made of Planks which is kept shut by a long pole resting against it on the inside & it cannot be opened on the outside. Within the generality of these Inclosures stand about half a dozen Houses among the Cocoa nut & Bread fruit Trees & groves of Plantains; the Houses are small & contain but one family in each, the Shape of them is an oblong square, the floors are raised about a foot from the Surface of the ground and always covered with matts, the Eves reach near the Ground & the sides are made of wicker work tho' some again are quite open. The Married people are seperated at night from the rest by Skreens made of Strong thick matts which they draw round them, & these they make use of in the day & move them about occasionally to defend them from the wind & the Sun. The furniture of their Houses consists of the Garee[1] or Stools which they use for Pillows,

[1] *kali.*

/24 cont./

181 461 climate seasonal changes only a minimal amount of work, in our sense, is required for an adequate livelihood. However, since the Tongan generally does not make his life quite as simple for himself as it might be, his average actual work activity being greater than environmental conditions and other factors require, we are obliged to [512] call him relatively hardworking. The Tongan family usually begins its work day at half past five or six o'clock (at times also at four or five o'clock), since the men like to take advantage of the cool early hours to work on the plantations. (32)

32. On the occasion of the week-long house construction on Nomuka (November/December 1951) the work lasted from daybreak until dark; however, the working natives took turns "recovering" during various long breaks.

Generally speaking /25/ the Tongan does not like to leave a piece of work that he has begun and that can be finished on the same day to be finished on the following day. On Nomuka, for example, some of the Tongans worked long after dark on the plantations making copra by a dim light because, once the coconuts had been gathered, they preferred not to leave them untreated until the next day. (33)

33. This was not demanded by the technical process of the work.

[287] In making tapa (koka-'anga) it is the ambition of the Tongan women to finish a job they have begun on the same day; even if they are quite weary after often ten hours of work, they do not lay aside the almost finished piece but force themselves to work an hour or two longer until they are finished. The Tongans' pleasure in their work can increase to a considerable expenditure of energy, even by European standards, if it is in their own particular interest. For example, on the 11th/12th December 1951 a group of 15 Tongan (three skilled workers, the rest untrained) built, from material that had been

/151 cont./

241 656 178 433

Plant	Amount	Day on which planting must be finished
Yams.....	600	December 31, 1948
Taro.....	150	"
Manioc.....	200	"
kape.....	50	"
Bananas (siaine).....	100	"
Sweet potatoes.....	300	June 30, 1949
Maize.....	100	"
Reed (kaho).....	10	"
Kava.....	10	"
Sugarcane (au).....	50	"
Paper mulberry trees	100	"

(The governors have the power to order changes depending on local conditions.)

[425] [686] The government has the right /152/ to take away the land from the lessees who do not comply with the regulations. However, it scarcely makes use of this right. There are some plantations that are seldom visited by their owners and are rather overgrown, and no one seems to care about punishment. The majority of Tongan, however, plant approximately the prescribed amounts and often go beyond the measure stipulated of basic food plants for which the numbers are set relatively low; other plants, such as maize and the reed used for house construction, as well as sugarcane are preferably "forgotten."

241 656

241 [462] Planting--as in old times--is purely men's work; very seldom, and then mostly for certain auxiliary work (for example, "sweeping" a freshly burned-off plantation) do women come "into the bush." The average Tongan goes to his plantation several times a week (up to six times), early in the morning around six o'clock, and works at weeding, planting or harvesting until ten or eleven o'clock, and then goes back to the village. Often he visits his plantation again in the afternoon from 15 (16) o'clock until 18 (18:30) o'clock. The natives

241 461 512

/152 cont./

241 461 [512] [517] are capable of working intensively four to five hours at a stretch, but do not always do this consistently. While the majority visit their plantations several days a week and the rest of the time devote themselves to other occupations (for example, fishing, copra-production), there are in every village some natives who visit their small, half wild plantation at most once a week and spend the remaining days chatting in various houses of the village. Still another "minority," on the other hand, have the ambition to lay out truly "model plantations"; they devote almost all available time to their very neat and precisely laid out plantation, spend the night there in a specially erected hut for days, weeks or months, or move there altogether with their families. The Tongans work on their plantations [476] by themselves or, especially in case of larger projects, (403)

403. For example, clearing to lay out a yam field.

in groups (a one-time arrangement or a regular kautaha. (404)

404. See p. 137.

241 461 178 [417] Although nowadays the Tongans, in their opinion, give a considerable amount of work and time to their plantations, most of these appear less cared for than in old times. The "neat fences of reed" (405)

405. J. Cook, Beschreibung.../Description/ loc. cit. VI. pp. 163, 178, 222.

which in former times enclosed the plantations have long since disappeared and have been partly replaced by single, rusty barbed wires. 241 178 461 Within the plantations themselves one often misses the ancient Tongan love of order; some of the /153/ plots, with the exception of a few "model plantations," seem disorderly, and tall weeds proliferate. The reason for this is, of course, that today the Tongan generally does not live on his plantation and, because of the sometimes rather long

/225 cont./

462 making or helps with tapa-making.

462 178 The principle of the present customary division of labor between the sexes corresponds to that of the past. For example, Cook (584)

584. J. Cook, Beschreibung...loc. cit. VI. pp. 282/283.

as well as Mariner (585)

585. J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 132, 301; see also E.P.E. de Rossel, Voyage de Dentrecasteaux... I. p. 310.

reported that Tongan men at that time did all the heavy work, while the lighter tasks were the responsibility of their wives. The new 462 tasks that arose as a result of European influence (copra-making, 177 cooking, washing, sewing) were also shared by the two sexes in accordance with this principle. (586)

586. If the situation demands it, however, the women are perfectly willing to do heavy work; for example, one sometimes sees women and girls splitting ripe coconuts with the axe (for making copra), if the male members of the family, for some reason, are prevented from doing this.

461 464 565 The "division of labor" between nobles and commoners, (587)

587. On the occupational division of labor see the chapter "Vocations and Trades" p. 357 ff.

178 which was so much taken for granted in ancient Tonga and, according to which, commoners were obliged to work for nobles who supervised and guided them, was fundamentally changed through the Christianization and democratization of the Archipelago: The commoners today generally work for themselves, for their family alone; some chiefs work their plantation none, others work together with several commoners, and a few let the latter work for them on a voluntary basis and for remuneration (food, kava, money), while they spend their days at leisure.

512 181 The daily routine of the Tongans is still characterized by the

/225 cont./

512 [181] tranquility and equanimity of these human beings who, with a measure of regularity, go about their customary tasks, duties and forms of relaxation.

/226/ They usually get up quite early in the morning (between five and six o'clock) and often start the day with a short prayer. While the wife busies herself preparing the morning meal and the children help her or finish their schoolwork, the husband usually (after feeding his pigs) goes to his plantation (588)

588. Sometimes he also goes fishing.

in order to take advantage of the pleasant morning coolness. The [264] family has its first meal some time between nine and eleven o'clock, in which the husband of course takes part if by that time he has returned from his plantation (where he would also be able to prepare a meal for himself). The wife spends the morning "taking care of the house" (she spreads out the sleeping-mats and -tapa in the sun in front of the house, cleans and sweeps the interior and straightens out and rolls up the bedding), and, besides attending to the small children (the older children are at school), she might busy herself with the plaiting of a mat that may have been started a long time before; she might also go to the beach on the surf side of the island in order to look for algae, polyps, mussels or crabs. In case the husband has not remained on his plantation he will probably attend to his copra-making or his fishing. While some families in the larger towns will have another [264] meal around noon, according to the European example, most of the [177] natives on the smaller islands simply take a longer rest which lasts [461] until the worst heat is over (about 15 o'clock). Then the villages wake up to new life. The men visit the plantations or they now go fishing or take up their planned copra work with which the women sometimes help; otherwise, the women continue with their plaitwork or now

/226 cont./

512 stroll down to the beach to hunt for seafood, or they start preparing a new supply of hair- and body-oil. An important task for them, [264] however, is the preparation of the afternoon meal of which the entire family partakes between 17 and 19 o'clock. Around this time the [515] husband has returned from his plantation (often with fruit he picked) and has washed himself thoroughly and put on clean clothes. The children have spent the afternoon helping or playing and are now mostly also washed, as is the wife. Around 19 o'clock, after the meal, it has grown dark. Most families gather in their houses for prayer. Thereafter, the children spend a little time at their schoolwork and soon lie down to sleep while the husband and wife sit by the light of kerosene lamps, chat and talk over the next day and then go to rest around 21 - 22 o'clock. Many men and youths have [574] /227/ meanwhile gathered in various houses of the village for their kava circles (589)

589. See p. 144ff.

which seem to a large extent to satisfy all their social aspirations and which last far into the night, sometimes even until dawn. In [794] many villages natives of both sexes gather in the evenings to take [533] part in the practice and rehearsals of the various church choirs.

Circumstances may vary this average daily routine. Thus, the weather (for example, humidity or dryness) may be the occasion for [796] various tasks (plantations) or may prevent them. Church services also induce natives to get up earlier on some days of the week and to start the day with church attendance, or to end, thus, the day's work in the afternoon. Moreover, communal projects such as house-building (not so much boat-building) and the making of tapa lengths and mats in the kautaha houses (590)

[252] 590. On the days of such communal projects by

/227 cont./

512 (252) women, the husbands prepare earth-oven meals for their working wives.

may influence and change the customary daily routine of some families. [592] The size of the family naturally plays a part in the daily routine, since kinfolk (men as well as women) living with the family can make tasks easier or take them over from the other members of the household. 512 461 However, the Tongan men and women are, of course, the determining factor in the daily routine; undoubtedly there is a certain need to work, but owing to the climate and the relatively rich resources of their homeland, work is not heavy enough to be burdensome so that, with Tongan equanimity, many a plan can be cheerfully postponed for days or weeks, and one can take a nap if one feels in the mood, or spend a forenoon or an afternoon at a game. (591)

591. On the other hand, it sometimes happens that during the hottest period of the day (around 13 or 14 o'clock) men will work on the plantations and women, for example, will gather food along the shore while the majority of villagers take a rest.

512 527 The daily routine as described applies only to the week days from Monday to Friday, for on Saturday preparations are made for Sunday: the men bring food for Sunday from the plantations (or from the sea), and the women are busy (besides their daily chores of preparing meals, taking care of the house, attending to the children) washing clothes and cleaning the grassy areas of their properties, which the men have cut short. The Sunday routine is, however, quite [797] different. As a result of the missionization of the Archipelago, [461] chiefly carried on by the Wesleyans, there is strict observance of rest from work on this day. Early in the morning (usually around [796] five o'clock) people attend the /228/ first church service followed, in the course of the day, by two or three further church attendances,

/228 cont./

512 (592)

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592. Children also attend Sunday school.

in which most of the natives (of both sexes and all ages) take part. Chiefly in the morning (around eight o'clock) the men, with the help

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of their wives, prepare an earth-oven (593)

593. This work, of course, the men also performed during the week if their wives have not prepared food in a simple manner.

the contents of which, around ten or eleven o'clock, serve as the main

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Sunday dinner, the leftovers of which they like to eat in the afternoon as a second meal. As for the rest of the day, they prefer to spend it

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sleeping and chatting and also paying visits; some Tongans read the

212

bible for a long time (as they often do evenings during the rest of the

511

week), and in every village men belonging to individual community groups

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gather for the gala meal of thanksgiving sponsored by the church (faka-afe).

512 The daily routine of the Tongans, like their division of labor, essentially does not change throughout the seasons. Not only the population in general, (594)

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594. The daily schedule of Tongans who have special professions (for example, teachers, physicians, clerks, government employees) is, of course, determined by their work.

but also many nobles, in contrast to the past, spend their days in this manner, provided they do not hold an office that carries with it a special honor.

512 Thus the daily routine reflects the changes, the transformation of

177 Tongan culture: Included in the array of traditional tasks, duties

178 and leisure activities are new activities (595)

527

595. Copra-production; clothes washing; church duties; attendance at church services, prayers,

/228 cont./

choir practice; school work.

and Christianization has brought the idea of the "week" and of Sunday. Yet, aside from this day of rest, the rhythm of the daily activity seems to have remained the same: the Tongan functions with matter-of-fact equanimity, and the abundance of new duties and tasks has not been able to decrease, much less destroy, his inner calm.

F. Transportation (Land and Sea)

In examining the development of Tongan transportation we must naturally make a distinction between land traffic (on the islands) and sea traffic (within the Archipelago as well as between other islands and countries of the Pacific).

With regard to travel by land, it may be said that the majority of natives still travel on foot. They often walk hour-long /229/ distances--transporting burdens at the same time--(596)

596. See pp. 249-251.

on the small islands as well as the large ones, though on the latter, in order to cover great distances, they make increasing use of means of transportation that have come to the Archipelago as a result of European influence.

The horse (597)

597. See p. 256-258.

that was introduced by Europeans has become very important for many natives (of the large as well as the small islands) as a riding- and pack-animal.

As a draft animal it is used to draw the two-wheeled carts (598)

598. See p. 256-258.

which have proved very useful on the streets, roads and paths of the islands (even in the bush) and are also European imports; in ancient Tonga the principle of the wheel was unknown. These wagons are not

S T 177 178 [262] [252] [415] [264] /296 cont./ canned goods have even been introduced into their ceremonial life. Food preparation shows many traditional features--as among the Tongans and perhaps even more so--along with certain innovations (for example iron cooking pots), and the typical method of eating with one's fingers has also been retained.--The conservative Samoans have probably not felt the need for further changes in their tried-and-true methods in areas relating to their means of subsistence, which, moreover, have not been influenced very much by Europeans and indeed would be difficult to change if only because of geographic conditions.

S T 276 177 249 432 In both Archipelagos tobacco, a luxury imported by Europeans, has become quite important; the natives grow it themselves to a large extent and also buy it from shopkeepers.

S T 245 S [434] [596] /297/ As in Tonga, copra production in Samoa has become a very common occupation, and to this has been added cocoa-growing. However, here too these new activities have not brought about much change; there has been no profit- mania, and the old social system has proved strong enough to withstand these influences, for the matai take over the proceeds and use them on behalf of the entire family.

S T 462 178 463 The typical women's handwork of tapa-making and plaiting lives on in Samoa--at least with respect to quality--as it does in Tonga. Division of labor according to sex has also scarcely changed on the Samoa Islands; however, in contrast to the development in the Tonga Archipelago, the social division of labor (titles-untitles) has still been largely upheld. The daily routine has remained basically the same in both island groups, and has been influenced only to a certain extent by new duties and tasks. Land and sea traffic has changed very much in Samoa, as in Tonga, but it is noteworthy that the Samoans build and use the simple outriggers (paopao) and in addition rather large numbers of the more complicated bonito-boats (va'aalo).

S T 512 178 S T 489 178 S [501]

101: Clark K-4,5 (1974) 1978 OU9 Tonga OU9

443 largest markets are Nuku'alofa in Tongatapu, Pangai in Ha'apai, and
[366] Neiafu in Vava'u. Such markets cater to two principal groups, although many people travel to market to buy, sell, or socialize.
443 Those members of the non-Tongan population who do not lease land,
439 such as church facilities, and must purchase market food, represent one group. Though not large in comparison to the Tongan population, this group does contribute a significant cash input to the
443 local economy. The second group consists of landless Tongans and those Tongans who do not farm or garden intensively and derive cash income from other means.

Producers, or members of their families, most frequently sell
[512] directly to the consumer. Saturday is market day (although the major markets carry some business throughout the week, except Sunday)
[427] and the market area becomes the center of urban activity. Individuals having produce to sell may rent one of several types of stalls
443 or floor space, upon which to display their produce. The staple
438 foods (i.e., tubers, coconuts, and bananas) are the major items sold, although other types of food produce and miscellaneous items,
443 such as shells, carvings, and handicrafts, are also available. Mar-
512 keting hours generally are from 8:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M., with the busiest time being in the forenoon and early afternoon.

123 Personal observations, plus discussions with sellers,
124 revealed several marketing patterns. A few farmers or craftsmen
443 sell each day or week on a regular basis, and generally have rented
427 stalls which can be locked at the end of each day. Rental for these
[435] is on a monthly basis, and costs the producer eight dollars per month.

102: Brierly T-3 (1850) 1852
OU9 Tonga OU9
Tongatapu

place to see something of the usual occupations of the natives at their homes. One of the things, that strikes a visitor most upon his arrival at Tongatabu, is the incessant hammering which commences at daybreak, and continues without intermission until about noon. To satisfy ourselves as to the cause of this, we entered the first house in which we heard the noise, and found two women engaged in making tappa, or native cloth. They were seated on the ground, one on each side of a log about 6 feet long and 6 inches square, which was raised just clear of the floor by means of short bits of stick placed under the ends of it. Each woman had a piece of the bark, of which the tappa is made, laid before her on the log, and was beating it with a wooden mallet about a foot in length, the handle being rounded, and the striking end square, with grooves in the sides. They wetted the bark from time to time, sprinkling water upon it from a large wooden bowl that stood upon the ground beside them.

In another hut a woman was shaving the head of a young child with a bit of glass broken from the neck of a bottle, dipping her finger into a cocoanut-shell of water and wetting the place as she went on; the little brown head became perfectly smooth and shining under the operation, which was so skilfully performed as not to disturb the child as it lay fast asleep on her arm. They call this operation fa-fai-ulu; literally, shave the head: shaving the chin being called te-lee kava, razor the beard.

In the next hut two men were busily employed in rigging the model of a canoe, to sell or barter on board the ship; they were very intent upon their work, leading all the ropes correctly, and finishing every part with great care.

In one house we found a native artist, a woman who made designs for patterns on tappa. She was at work, and had several lying by her which she had just finished. In a corner of the hut lay a pile of enormous yams, some of them being upwards of 4 feet in length. This store, together with other provisions, had been collected by the husband against the confinement of his wife, which appeared likely to take place very soon. The man sat watching her, and nursing a fine boy, and seemed quite proud of the attention with which we regarded his wife's performance.

In the course of our exploring excursion we called upon the principal man of the place, who had presided at the school examination in the morning. He was sitting alone in one corner of the matted floor of his house, and welcomed us as we entered, desiring us to be seated beside him. The house was in no way superior to the generality in the place, except in being a little larger and having the court-yard round it more carefully kept; the only piece of furniture in it was a large kava bowl, which hung up in the apartment. In a corner of the court-yard lay,